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SDP Students Report

Regeneration and Well-Being in East London: Stories from Carpenters Estate

Alexandre Apsan Frediani, Stephanie Butcher & Paul Watt, Editors

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March 2013

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Content

About the editors 6

Forward 7

1. Introduction 11

1.1. A brief history of the Carpenters Estate and process of engagement 11
1.2. Theoretical framework and structure of the report 12
1.3. Summary of key findings and recommendations 14
references 14

2. Dignified Housing 15

2.1. Introduction 15
2.2. Relational elements of housing 15
2.3. Community visions for their neighbourhood 16
2.4. Security to dwell 17
2.5. Conclusion 18
References 20

3. Secure Livelihoods 21

3.1. Introduction 21
3.2. Discourse vs. reality: discrepencies in narratives 21
3.3. Job security 22
3.4. Costs of living 22
3.5. Social networks 22
3.6. A cost-analysis conundrum 22
3.7. Conclusion 23
References 24

4. Meaningful Participation 25

4.1. Introduction 25
4.2. Meaningful participation 26
4.3. Choices to participate 27
4.4. Abilities to participate 27
4.5. Opportunities to participate 28
4.6. Major findings 29
4.7. Conclusion 31
References 31

5. Conclusion 32

General References 34

List of figures

1.1. Timeline of movements to incorporate resident views in the regeneration process.
2.1. Homes are more than buildings.
2.2. Delivery of ft2.
4.1. Meaningful participation: A comparision of resident views and LBN planning policy.
4.2. The relationship between poor quality information, uncertainty and community tensions on Carpenters Estate.
4.3. Regeneration and the production of community conflict.
4.4. Participation and the production of a democratic deficit.

List of tables

1.1. Numbers of households since the process of decanting began.
4.1. The democratic deficit: Citizen responses.

List of acronyms

CARP	Carpenters Against Regeneration Plan
GLA	Greater London Authority
ILO	International Labour Organization
JRSG	Joint Residents Steering Group
LBN	London Borough of Newham
LLDC	London Legacy Development Corporation
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
SMM	Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan
TMO	Tenant's Management Association
UCL	University College London

About the editors

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Forward

Dr. Paul Watt
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It is a cliché that East London is changing. This change partly results from major economic and demographic transformations associated with deindustrialisation, globalisation and the development of a finance-oriented service economy, but it is also a consequence of large-scale urban regeneration programmes such as the controversial London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) (Butler and Rustin 1996; Hamnett 2003; Imrie et al. 2009). However, despite the LDDC's spectacular rearrangement of the Docklands' physical landscape, there is considerable scepticism regarding how far this regeneration has benefitted those low-income populations who live in the area (Rising East 1998; Foster 1999; Bernstock 2009; Minton 2012).

If the transformation of the Docklands symbolised the new East London that arose during the 1980s and 1990s, the 2012 London Olympics has symbolised the rapid pace of change in the 2000s. This mega-event's promised 'legacy' is the host boroughs' aim of 'convergence' whereby, 'within 20 years the communities who host the 2012 Games will have the same socioeconomic chances as their neighbours across London' (cited in MacRury and Poynter 2009: 66). Although the jury is necessarily still out regarding the 2012 Olympics' 20-year legacy, it is clear that vital questions regarding 'what kind of legacy?' and 'for whom?' are already the subject of considerable scrutiny (MacRury and Poynter 2009; Smith et al. 2011; Hylton and Morpeth 2012; Powell and Marrero-Guillamon 2012; Thornley 2012; Swales 2013). Academics and policy analysts have raised these questions by not only focusing on the loss of pre-existing jobs, businesses, housing and community facilities, but also by querying how far local populations, and especially those on low incomes, will be able to access the new employment and housing opportunities arising in East London (New Economic Foundation 2008; Bernstock 2009; London Assembly 2010; Raco and Tunney 2010; Kennelly and Watt 2012; Watt 2013). What has also emerged is how local people have felt that their voices have been marginalised in the London 2012 regeneration process, as powerful political stakeholders have managed to both set and implement policy agendas, as for example in the case of the demolition of the Clays Lane housing estate to make space for the Olympics Park (Cheyne 2009; Fussey et al. 2012; Powell and Marrero-Guillamon 2012).

It would be a mistake of course to suggest that everything that is happening in East London is occurring because of the 2012 Olympics; several important regeneration schemes were already underway by the time the Games bid was secured in 2005 (Bernstock 2009; Thornley 2012). Nevertheless, there is a prominent view that the Olympics accelerated aspects of what was already happening in regeneration terms in the area (NEF 2008; East Magazine 2011; Minton 2012; Thornley 2012). Certainly the presence of the Games has contributed towards changing the image of East London (Thornley 2012), including revamping Stratford as 'New Stratford', a place that now offers a 'golden opportunity' (East Magazine 2011) for property investors.

Located at the centre of this maelstrom of intense urban change is the Carpenters Estate. This is a 1960s council-built estate of over 700 dwellings in Stratford whose three 22-storey tower blocks overlook the Olympics Park. The upper floors of two of these – Lund Point and Dennison Point – acted as the respective platforms for BBC and Al Jazeera news reporting during the Games themselves. This Estate has formed part of Newham Council's regeneration plans for Stratford as set out in its Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan. The latter has gone through several iterations prompting one of the consultants behind its production to admit that 'the place has been masterplanned to death' (Campbell 2012: 311). Since November 2011, the prospective future of the Carpenters Estate has taken a new turn as a result of University College London's (UCL) interest in acquiring and redeveloping the Estate's 23-acre site for a new UCL Stratford Campus. Given that the details of the UCL/Newham Council redevelopment plan are still being worked out, what this timely report from postgraduate students within the Social Development Practice (SDP) programme of UCL does is to examine the unfolding of the regeneration process so far, highlighting the perspectives of those who have most to lose by it – the Carpenters Estate residents who face the

potential prospect of seeing their homes and neighbourhood-based community ties disappear.

The report makes unsettling reading. It highlights how residents' well-being across a number of key dimensions (housing, livelihoods and participation) has been undermined by the protracted and ongoing regeneration process itself. It also underlines how residents often feel that their voices have not been adequately heard – or rather not listened to – by the major redevelopment players – Newham Council and UCL. The report's findings thus reflect those from many in-depth academic studies of major regeneration schemes in deprived urban areas in which the supposed beneficiaries of such schemes – existing local residents – all too often feel neither empowered by their participation in the regeneration process nor feel that they will necessarily benefit from the outcomes (see inter alia Perron and Skiers 2003; Dinham 2007; Allen 2008; Gosling 2008; Imrie et al. 2009; Wallace 2010). None of this is inevitable however. There are examples where local deprived communities can exert a genuine influence on regeneration processes (McGinn 2004; Porter and Shaw 2009; Dillon and Fanning 2011), even in London, a city whose ever-onwards and upwards 'property machine' has a built-in tendency to drive out other, more potentially productive and sustainable land-uses (Hutton 2008).

This SDP students report is based on various data sources including interviews conducted with Carpenters Estate residents and other stakeholders. As such, it follows on from other reports, films and articles which have examined the story of the Estate, a story that includes the residents' positive appreciation of their existing homes and community and their often deeply-felt desire to maintain what they already have (Open University 2009; Dunn et al. 2010; Site/Fringe 2012; Watt 2013). Given the high-profile issues involved – a new university campus for East London and the fate of a working-class housing estate – it is unlikely that this will be the last word on the Carpenters Estate. More importantly, one can hope that the resident concerns that the report highlights will be factored into the ongoing planning process. At a wider scale, one can also argue that the report's findings all too clearly illustrate David Harvey's (2008) pertinent questioning as to what kind of city we want to see, and whose right to the city will prevail.

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1. Introduction

Alexandre Apsan Frediani
Stephanie Butcher
Paul Watt

This report is the result of a three-month research project carried out by Masters students of the Social Development Practice (SDP) programme, based at the Bartlett Development Planning Unit in the University College London (UCL). The central focus of this programme lies in examining the interaction between diverse identities, power relations and well-being, with the aim of advocating for developmental processes that address social inequities and support active citizenship. The course responds to the increasing focus on 'people-centred' approaches to development, offering the opportunity to engage with the theoretical and practical implications of promoting well-being and citizenship in the context of social diversity.

This particular exercise was undertaken as a part of the practice module of the SDP Masters programme, and emerged within the context of UCL's decision to develop a second Stratford Campus on the 23-acre site of the Carpenters Estate—a council estate within Newham Borough. The UCL initiative represents just one element in a wider set of regeneration processes taking place in East London in the wake of the 2012 London Olympic Games, which have increased the value of and interest in the land on which the Estate sits. Positioned just south of the Olympic Park and adjacent to the 'Stratford City' development—containing a large shopping complex, offices, and hotels—the Estate is additionally supplied by some of the best transport connections in London, with Stratford Station containing two underground lines, the Docklands Light Rail, Overground, and National Rail Service. While detailed plans for the new site have not yet been unveiled, negotiations are currently underway between Newham Council and UCL, and have raised serious concerns for many of the current residents of the Estate. As plans move forward, this becomes a key moment to re-assess such schemes within a framework of well-being, with a particular emphasis on understanding the effects of this plan on the current residents of the Estate.

In collaboration with residents, independent actors and researchers involved in examining the social changes taking place within Carpenters Estate, this research project carried out an examination of the effects of the regeneration process in relation to three key dimensions of the residents' well-being: secure livelihoods, dignified housing, and meaningful participation in the redevelopment process. Students divided into three groups (each focusing on a different dimension of well-being), and were asked to address the following questions:

> 1- How are the dimensions of well-being both perceived by residents and articulated in existing policy documents of Newham Council, and London and UK government authorities?
> 2- How are the processes of change taking place in East London affecting the ability and opportunity of Carpenters Estate residents to pursue these dimensions of well-being?

To answer these questions, the three groups analysed a series of key policy documents and conducted a total of 50 semi-structured interviews with residents and key stakeholders. While this report does not attempt to generate a comprehensive or statistically representative evaluation, the research does outline key inconsistencies, contradictions and issues that need to be taken into consideration when advancing the regeneration strategy of the area. It also provides a rich sense of the histories and stories emergent from the Estate that may be lost under the current regeneration plan.

1.1. A brief history of the Carpenters Estate and process of engagement

First established in the late nineteenth century, the Carpenters Estate was developed by an ancient London livery company, The Worshipful Company of Carpenters, to house its factory workers in Victorian terraced houses lining Carpenters Road and Stratford town centre. The close proximity of jobs and tendency for families to remain in the area supported the sense of a self-contained community with a strong neighbourhood identity. This was further fostered by investments made by the Carpenters Company in community facilities such as the local school and social club.

World War Two brought serious repercussions for the Estate, as Stratford's close proximity to railroads, dock-

lands, and factories made the area a key target during raids. During this time nearly two-thirds of houses on Carpenters Estate were destroyed or seriously damaged, and a lack of funding and interest precluded any significant upgrades until the 1960s. It was at this time that the newly established Newham Council—responding to what was essentially deemed the slum conditions of the Estate—became involved in the effort to provide affordable council housing. The borough constructed terraced homes, three-storied apartment blocks, and three 22-storied tower blocks on the Estate, comprising over 700 units.

Though Carpenters Estate—and indeed Newham Borough as a whole—remains one of the most deprived in England, within the newly reconstructed neighbourhood there remained the strong presence of community institutions and networks, with 'The Club', a social space formed by residents, and the Carpenters' and Docklands Centre, an on-site youth centre. Many residents have taken advantage of the 'Right-to-Buy' scheme introduced in the Housing Act 1980, (Jones and Murie 2006) and have become freeholders of their houses or leaseholders of their flats. Further highlighting the strong sense of and emphasis on community involvement within the Estate, in 1997 residents voted to form a Tenant Management Organisation (TMO), shifting control of the Estate's finances, maintenance, and building from Newham council to a board of volunteer residents. Since 1997 residents have twice voted to extend the TMO for an additional five years.

In 2004 heightened concerns regarding the deteriorating conditions and presence of asbestos in the buildings of Carpenters Estate were raised by Newham Council, and the tower in the worst condition, James Riley Point, was slated for demolition and the majority of its residents decanted. While the remaining two towers, Dennison Point and Lund Point, were originally under discussion for refurbishment, this was eventually deemed too expensive, and in 2009 these two, as well as 30 units within one of the three-storied blocks on Dorian Walk, began the decanting process in preparation for demolition. To date, however, all buildings remain, with the top floors of two of the tower blocks refurbished to act as temporary media centres for the BBC and Al-Jazeera to cover the Olympic Games. The Table 1.1 illustrates the changes in numbers of households over the course of the decanting process.

This interest in the future of Carpenters Estate is underlined by on-going issues regarding the accessibility of council/social housing in both Newham and London more generally. This is in relation to, for example, the high numbers on the housing waiting list and living in temporary accommodation in Newham (National Housing Federation 2011), the impacts of the Coalition Government's changes to welfare funding and social housing in London (Child Poverty Action Group 2012), and evidence regarding what 'affordable housing' really means in the capital (London Tenants Federation 2011). Furthermore, discussions of what happens on the site of the Estate are particularly important as its prime location and historical sense of community already act as a model for a diverse, mixed-tenure neighbourhood, with convenient access to the rest of the city, and a wide range of nearby amenities. Problematically, concerns have been voiced (both within UCL, the Estate, and the wider London community) about the representativeness of the consultations already undertaken by UCL, evidenced in the formation of multiple groups contesting the process, including the Estate-based 'Carpenters Against Regeneration Plan' (CARP) and the UCL student group 'Save Carpenters'. Those moves that have been taken to incorporate resident views into the regeneration plan are illustrated in the timeline presented in Figure 1.1, as compiled by the authors of chapter 4.

Table 1.1. Numbers of households since the process of decanting began. Source: http://www.newham.gov.uk

	2009	2012
Secure Tenants	514	158
Leaseholders	98	66
Freeholders	93	93
Total	**685**	**317**

1.2. Theoretical framework and structure of the report

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the on-going debates on the future of the Estate, highlighting in particular the (underrepresented) aspirations of its diverse residents. It looks to examine the impacts of mega-events and regeneration schemes, aimed largely at the creation of 'global' or competitive cities, on the well-being of those communities directly impacted. In doing so, it adopts a multi-dimensional approach: understanding the right to housing as more than the right to shelter, but as encompassing other features such as a sense of community, pride, comfort and safety, access to secure livelihoods and opportunities, and the ability to affect decision-making processes impacting residents' lived space.

Figure 1.1. Timeline of movements to incorporate resident views in the regeneration process. Source: Authors

The methodology used for the elaboration of this study is based upon Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (1985), which explores the choices, abilities and opportunities individuals and groups have to achieve the things they value. In other words, apart from prioritizing a series of values that local residents attach to the place in which they live, this study also aims to reveal their existing capabilities to achieve these values, and to reflect upon how the on-going changes in the neighbourhood support or constrain these capabilities.

Examining the regeneration process within Sen's framework of well-being allows us to interrogate the discourses underpinning the changes in Newham Borough and East London from three different perspectives: the material, procedural, and post-material. The material refers to the physical impacts of regeneration, examining which groups receive the benefits (a 'world-class' university campus), and which groups must absorb the costs (displacement and decantation). The procedural allows us to probe further into the decision-making procedures, critically examining which views are represented and reflected in the urban development process—whether it is Newham Council, the TMO, Estate residents including leaseholders, freeholders and tenants, or UCL staff and students. Finally, the post-material refers to the more nuanced 'city visions' that underlie the regeneration process—highlighting the different values and assumptions that drive regeneration, and allowing us to unfold competing views on change.

Such an examination has been previously undertaken (Penz, Drydyk, and Bose 2011) but work remains to capture a more comprehensive portrait of the impact of regeneration on people's lives—moving beyond economic or social dimensions independently—but rather examining how these can interlink to generate an enabling environment for human flourishing. This research project emerges in response to this gap, and the following chapters examine the cross-cutting material, procedural, and post-material effects of the UCL-Newham regeneration scheme along three dimensions of well-being: secure livelihoods; dignified housing; and meaningful participation.

1.3. Summary of key findings and Recommendations

The key conclusion emergent from this research is that a lack of recognition of the already-existing value of the Estate, combined with an inappropriate process of participation, has generated insecurity of tenure, compromised local livelihood strategies, and has contributed to the production of a democratic deficit— all to the detriment of the well-being of residents on the Estate. This report has thus identified clear contradictions and inconsistencies between the rhetorical commitment from both Newham Council and UCL to supporting the well-being and sustainability of communities, and the practices of regeneration undertaken so far. Beyond concerns regarding the quantity, affordability, and quality of any newly constructed council/social housing, critical questions remain regarding the possibilities of maintaining the strong sense of community and shared history experienced by residents of the Carpenters Estate.

This report therefore recommends a fundamental shift in the way local residents can be engaged in the regeneration of the Estate and its surrounding areas. An entry point identified here is the on-going community planning process supported by 'Just Space', a pan-London network of voluntary and community groups, formed to act as a voice for Londoners at the grassroots level during the formulation of London's major planning strategy. Initiatives such as this indicate that residents are willing, able and interested to take a more pro-active role in the regeneration of their estate, and in ways that can genuinely support the Council's vision of Newham as a place where all of its residents are be able to 'live, work and stay'.

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2. Dignified Housing

Housing and well-being on Carpenters Estate

Alexander Ascencio
Milena Jaimes Cervantes
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2.1. Introduction

In the context of an acute housing shortage and growing problems of unaffordability and overcrowding in London (London Tenants Federation 2011; National Housing Federation 2011; The Pro-housing Alliance 2011), housing policy has received much attention in public and political debates. For example, the London Housing Strategy aimed to deliver 50,000 affordable homes between 2008 and 2012, representing an investment of over £5 billion (Greater London Authority 2010: 4). Efforts have also been made to increase the number of social houses that achieve the Decent Homes Standard[1]. Further, campaign groups such as Empty Homes have been pressurising the local government to put 72,457 empty homes in London back into use in 2011/12, particularly for the provision of social housing (Empty Homes 2012).

In the Borough of Newham, it was estimated in 2011 that 20,000 dwellings would be required to meet the existing housing needs over the following five years (LBN 2011a). Given the pressing need for housing, the Mayor of Newham is committed to providing more affordable properties for families. Similarly, Newham's housing policy aims to go beyond 'decent homes' by providing housing which offers "choices, opportunities and aspirations", thereby making Newham a place "where people choose to live, work and stay" (LBN 2010: 2). According to the Mayor's vision, new houses in Newham should be high-quality, aspirational, energy-efficient, family friendly and represent a mix of social and private rented properties (ibid.).

Newham's housing policy places strong emphasis on high quality and affordability. The definition of these two dimensions is a considerable challenge[2] and it is beyond the scope of this report to assess different measurements of the quality and affordability of housing. Instead, this chapter focuses on a seeming mismatch between Newham Council's understanding of housing and Carpenters residents' perceptions of their homes. Three dimensions of housing, which are not recognised in the official policy documents, will be examined. The first dimension addresses the relational aspect of housing by highlighting the importance of social relations between neighbours in creating a sense of belonging to Carpenters Estate. As resident Steve put it: "it's not just a place to live – it's my home" (The Open University 2009: 1). The second dimension relates to residents' vision for Stratford, the kind of place and community they aspire to live in, and their sense of marginalisation that Newham has become "too good a place" for them to live. The third dimension tackles residents' sense of security which is affected by their opportunity to participate in the planning of the future of Carpenters Estate, which many described as "not having a voice".

These findings are based on in-depth interviews with Carpenters residents, supplemented by interview materials compiled by The Open University (2009) and analysis of a number of policy documents relating to regeneration in Newham and on Carpenters Estate. Our research suggests a mismatch between residents' understanding of their homes and Newham Council's approach to housing, and argues that the latter has serious limitations. In our view, the lack of recognition of the more intangible dimensions of housing outlined above renders the current approach to regeneration inadequate to achieve "mixed and balanced communities" (LBN 2012: 21). We therefore urge Newham Council and any other parties involved in the regeneration of Carpenters Estate to consider the three dimensions of housing identified in this chapter in their further engagement with the Carpenters community, if the pursuit of sustainable communities is to remain a key objective of regeneration in Newham.

2.2. Relational elements of housing

Housing, and the homes that people make within its fabric, is more than a place to merely physically live (see figure 2.1). As a verb it is about what it does for peoples' lives, and is thus an important means for building social relationships and self-identity (Turner 1972). Consequently, housing (and residential environments in general) can be viewed as a requirement for positive, sustainable life

and for achieving 'well-being', since it can offer "vehicles for personal fulfilment" (Turner 1972:255).

Turner's argument has been similarly echoed in Newham Council's acknowledgment that housing is connected to its residents' capacities for both tangible and intangible life goals: "housing is about more than simply the bricks and mortar" (LBN 2010:21). This statement suggests that the Council is aware of the significance of well-being in relation to housing. Unfortunately this does not appear to translate into practice. Indeed our research points to contradictions in Council policy and practice with regard to Carpenters Estate residents' housing well-being. Most striking is the Council's apparent indifference to residents' strongly established connections with their homes and to the extension of their homes into the surrounding space; be this physically manifested through the external décor of their homes, articulated through memories and experiences and their sense of community, or demonstrated through their resistance to Newham's regeneration plans for the estate.

The Council acknowledges that there is a "strong sense of community" on the estate and has stated that it will try to keep the community together (Buksh 2012). Moreover, the Council claims to seek to "stabilise our community so that we can ensure people stay and bring up their families here and have a strong stake in the future of the borough" (LBN 2011a: 133). So the question is: how do Newham Council's objectives of "regeneration" and "redevelopment" (via the processes of "decanting and demolishing") fit with these community-centred notions of housing? UCL's regeneration proposals for the estate, for instance, make no explicit stated provision for the existing Carpenters community since "new residential accommodation [will be] for students…including UCL staff with families" (UCL 2012: section 2). Furthermore, whilst demolition work has not yet started, substantial numbers of families have already been decanted from the estate.

The result is starkly apparent: boarded up maisonettes, untended gardens, and, at night, the blackness from empty flats in the tower blocks. There is additionally an intangible loss of memories and experiences that define residents' sense of place and home. For instance as in the case of one resident, recollections of learning to ride his bike in the open area in front of his aunt's terrace house. These intangible, personal components of housing are also part of the wider social activities and relationships that help describe and create homes in communities like Carpenters: a once vibrant, strong, community that is slowly being eroded through decanting; a process that amounts to what Tony Bird (TPAS Independent Advisor) called the "social cleansing of a solid community.

2.3. Community visions for their neighbourhood

While the Stratford Masterplan emphasises the provision of more affordable and more spacious homes, a parallel narrative stresses the creation of sustainable communities (LBN 2011a). Regeneration in Newham aims to transform a number of areas into what has been named an "Arc of Opportunity", in which "high quality" neighbourhoods will foster "stable and balanced communities" (LBN 2011a: 5-9). This new vision for Stratford has been widely disseminated by the media, with one article going so far as to compare London's East End to Manhattan, whereby

Figure 2.1. Homes are more than buildings. Source: Authors.

Homes are more than buildings

"Housing is the setting for family and community life; a key constituent of self-esteem… a springboard for desired and valued lifestyle and an important arena for autonomy and control (Clapham 2010:258).

"Modernist planners became thieves of memory… they have killed whole communities and destroyed individual lives by not understanding the loss and grieving that go along with losing home, neighborhood, friends and memory" (Sandercock 1997:208).

"Our primary emotional connection are shaped in the domestic arena of the home; where we live and how we live are important determinants of our… individual well-being" (Short, 1999, cited in Randall 2012:20).

"Domestic space not only consist of tangible matters but also of the emotion and sensual experiences that determine its unique atmosphere: a space in which memories and protections fins a place…" (Bosma 2000:12)

Stratford High Street represents New York's Fifth Avenue, or a "Boulevard of Dreams" (London Evening Standard 2010: 1).

Although this comparison is arguably exaggerated, what is important is that regeneration entails both qualitative and aesthetic improvements as well as a planned transformation of Newham's character. In terms of aesthetics, a key objective of the Masterplan is to "create a place that is cohesive and distinctive based on sound urban design" (LBN 2011a: 10). This principle underscores the demolition of the three high-rise blocks on Carpenters Estate, which were not only deemed to be in decline and too expensive to repair, but also because the Council considers them "an eyesore" (ibid.: 45). However, residents often do not share this view, stating that "it's not like just three tower blocks set alone, or just some low-rise flats set alone, or just some houses set alone – it's a mixture of all three and it's the basis of our community spirit" (The Open University 2009: 1). While objective 8 of the Sustainability Appraisal aims to "conserve and enhance the character and appearance of the historic environment and features of cultural importance" (LBN 2011b: 8), it does not consider Carpenters Estate to entail any "heritage" (ibid.: 42). However, this same resident contends "it may not be in the form of a lovely Grade II listed building, but it is [our] heritage so how can you ignore that?" (The Open University 2009: 1).

Regeneration sets out to attract new residents who bring new skills and opportunities to Newham, thereby shaping its character (LBN 2011a). Concretely, if UCL's planned developments on Carpenters Estate go ahead, they will primarily appeal to people interested in the "2,320 direct research, teaching, and support jobs" that the UCL Straford Proposition claims will be provided per year, and inhabitants for the "500,000 ft2 non-UCL residential housing" (UCL 2012: 13, 6). The proposition does not provide further detail regarding these positions, nor does it specify how much of the non-UCL residential housing will be affordable, if any. Residents expressed concern that they will not be equipped or qualified for the promised jobs and unable to afford the new properties. As a result, many feel marginalised within the Borough. Two residents who have lived and worked in Stratford all their lives felt that since the Olympic Games the area had become "too good a place for us to live". Rather than making Stratford "a place that people are proud to live in" (LBN 2011b: 10), regeneration has had a negative impact on these residents' sense of place because they feel they are no longer desired residents of Newham. This finding contrasts with the Masterplan's principle that "new buildings will work with, rather than against, the grain of their context to create a more cohesive and humane piece of city" (ibid.: 13). Our research suggests diverging notions of place between Newham's policies and that of Carpenters residents, not only on a design level but also in terms of the kind of community they aspire to live in. While consultation found that Carpenters residents support phased redevelopment as opposed to complete overturn such as proposed by UCL (ibid.), these findings appear to have been largely ignored in the Council's negotiations with UCL. We argue that it is crucial to consider and engage with residents' views and aspirations in regeneration planning since it is the inhabitants who make both a place and a community sustainable.

2.4. Security to dwell

Security is a fundamental component of housing. Newham Council conceptualizes security in the forms of physical security and tenure security. Physical security for instance, can take the form of public safety and the quality of housing structures. Tenure security can take various forms such as public or private rent, leaseholding or freeholding.

> *"Without exception all individuals should possess a degree of tenure, which ensures legal protection against forced eviction and other forms of threats" (The Right to Adequate Housing 1991).*

It is for this reason that London authorities should work towards addressing both of these dimensions of security, in order to guard residents' homes and livelihoods. It is thus necessary to implement genuine consultation with the residents who are affected in order to protect their rights. It is important to identify how the rights of Carpenter's Estate's residents contrast with the regeneration plans pursued by Newham Council and private developers. Newham Council's conceptualization of security has ignored other elements that also affect the residents' sense of security over their homes and livelihoods. Such elements may include the affordability of housing after regeneration, the right to return after regeneration, the transparency of information during regeneration, and the participation of the residents in the regeneration process.

The affordability of housing in Newham has become an issue of concern at the Carpenter's Estate. Many residents who were interviewed expressed fears that Stratford will become unaffordable after regeneration; one resident even lamented the fact that he will never be able to afford to live so close to the Olympic Stadium. Property and land values have presented an upward trend ever since London was awarded the Olympic Games and the redevelopment of Stratford began with the construction of projects such as the Olympic Park and Stratford City. The trend was broken only by the recent global financial crises but has resumed its upward trend since then (Land Registry: Official land registration service for England and Wales, House Price Index, 2012)

The Right to Return is also a controversial issue as many already find the possibility of returning to Stratford difficult after the demolishment of Carpenter's Estate. The current redevelopment plan proposed by UCL includes 2.35m ft² of floor space. However, only 29% of that will ultimately be allocated to residential space that includes a smaller non-UCL residential sector (UCL 2012). The non-UCL residential area includes, but is not exclusive to, the Carpenters residents' entitled to the Right to Return, meaning that those who are able to return will have to compete with non-Carpenter's residents for living space. It is thus unlikely that the proposed developments will have the physical capacity to house all returning residents of Carpenters Estate. Additionally, the Right to Return makes the assumption that all entitled residents will be able to afford relocation back to Stratford.

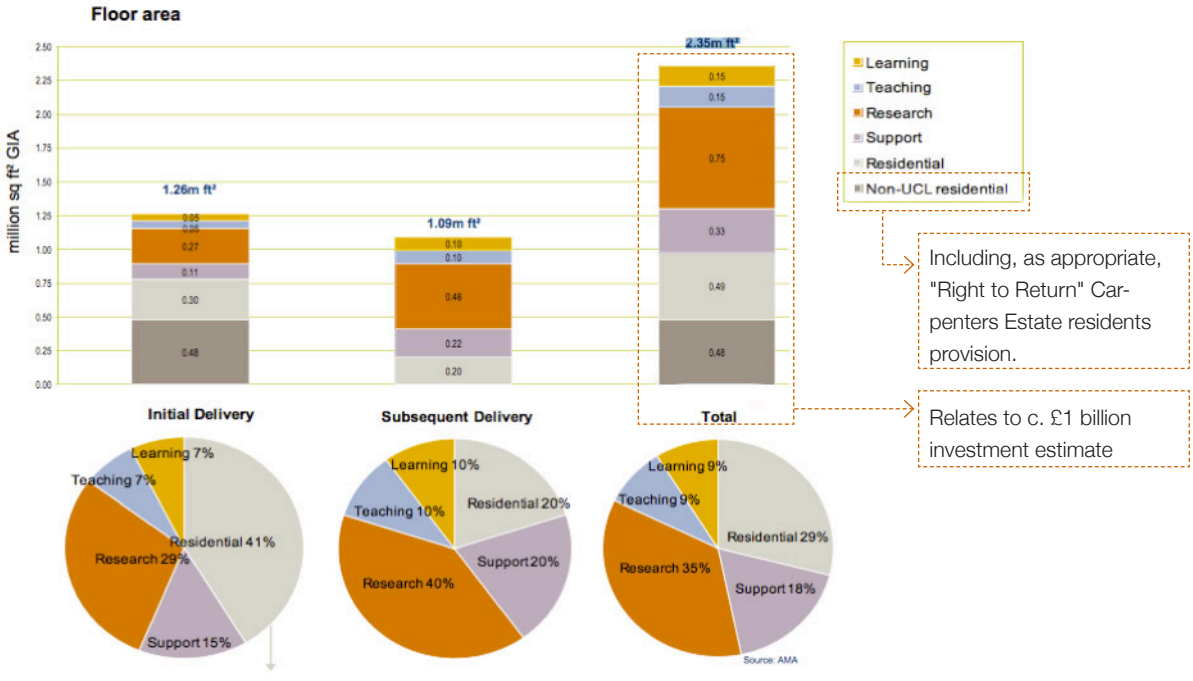
The issues of transparency and participation also have affected residents' sense of security as many irregularities in the regeneration process have led residents to feel they don't have a voice over their own homes. Many residents feel the Council's communications have lacked transparency; for instance, a freeholder residing in a low-rise building was told in 2009 that these buildings would not be affected by regeneration. Later, however, the Council decided the entire estate including the low-rise dwellings would be demolished. Another resident expressed concern that "the Council and UCL treat us as if we didn't exist". Ultimately, the residents consulted for this paper feel the authorities have not taken their interests into account and they do not feel their needs, desires and aspirations for the place in which they live have been given satisfactory attention in this process.

Newham Council has concluded that residents in the borough live in overcrowded and poor housing conditions and it is therefore necessary to initiate the process of regeneration that looks to improve, "transform and revitalize the area, but also, would turn to grant certain facilities to the community" (LBN 2009). Yet in spite of this rhetoric, we believe that the demolition of the estate is not in the best interests of the Carpenter's community and that the redevelopment plan and construction of a new UCL campus will displace Stratford's current population. We therefore argue that security must not only be seen in legal terms but must also include dimensions of affordability, transparency and participation that add to residents' sense of security. Our research leads us to conclude that residents' physical security and intangible sense of security is conducive to their well-being. We urge both Newham Council and other actors involved (e.g. UCL) to address these components in their future engagement on Carpenters Estate.

2.5. Conclusion

The processes of housing regeneration are having an adverse effect upon the well-being of Carpenters Estate residents. Our investigation suggests that despite policy

Figure 2.2. Delivery of ft². Source: [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/stratford/stratfordproposition.pdf], (accessed 13 January 2013)



rhetoric, Newham Council takes a functional approach to housing. Strategies for the next 10 years indicate that little consideration has been given to actualizing a key statement of Housing Newham Draft Strategy 2011-2016, that "housing is about more than simply the bricks and mortar" (2010:21). **Newham's plan to upgrade the borough into an "Arc of Opportunity" does not, for instance, accord with residents' opinions and aspirations for their estate, nor does it nurture current or future community sustainability.** And, while regeneration may have tangible benefits, there are also significant negative impacts, especially on lower income residents (Doucet, 2007). Our research indicates that one of the most serious outcomes of the Council's push for regeneration is displacement; residents have been, and will continue to be, decanted and relocated. Despite the Council's claims that residents will have the right to return, there are real concerns given Newham Council's emphasis on the provision of private, rather than social, housing: "Housing policy and strategy in the past has been driven too much by the provision of social housing. In the future we want to support residents to take greater responsibility for their own housing options" (LBN 2010: 2).

Moreover, housing of the quality currently available on the majority of the estate is likely to be outside the budgets of most residents. We also note that it is disingenuous of the Council to offer residents 'like for like', as we were unable to identify any plans for the provision of alternative comparable housing, be it terraced houses with gardens or accessible maisonettes. Moreover, beyond these physical aspects of a house, it is clear that the promise of 'like for like' cannot replicate the strong sense of community established on the estate. Most residents we talked to had solid connections with the estate—accordingly their well-being was closely linked not just to the material fabric of their homes, but to intangible capabilities like memories and experiences, and a sense of community and place. As Bosma observed, "domestic space not only consists of tangible matters but also of the emotions and …experiences that determine its unique atmosphere" (2000:12).The negative impact of housing regeneration on residents, especially the elderly, is thus likely to be profound.

In conclusion, Newham Council appears to be loose in terms of its interpretation of policy objectives with respect to housing as being more than fabric. As a consequence, the Council is failing Carpenters Estate in its duty as a social housing provider. The proposed regeneration plan does not appreciate or account for residents' strong attachment to their homes, or the ways in which they extend into their neighbourhoods and community.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The Decent Homes Standard was defined by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) in 2004 (Communities and Local Government Committee 2009).

2. i.e. how 'reasonable' facilities (Decent Homes Standard) or the affordability of housing "based on viability evidence" (SMMHP 2011: 2) are to be assessed remains to a large degree subject to interpretation.

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3. Secure Livelihoods

The impact of Newham Council's Regeneration Plans and UCL's Satellite Campus Bid on the secure livelihoods of residents of Carpenters Estate

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3.1. Introduction

In this chapter we examine how the regeneration taking place in Stratford has affected the livelihood security of the residents of Carpenters Estate. Broadly, livelihoods are defined as "access to income and resources to meet basic needs" (Frankenberger 1996: 31). This includes access to health care, participating in the community, education and housing. Having a secure livelihood grants households a guaranteed access to benefits and rights to form their own livelihoods. Such rights depend on where those households stand in the social fabric of society (Drinkwater and McEwan 1992). More specifically in this research, we define livelihood security as:

> *"when households have secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income earning activities, including reserves and assets, to offset risks, ease shocks and meet contingencies." (Frankenberger 2011: 31).*

Based on this definition, our research attempted to analyse the impact that regeneration and the UCL bid has had on what we defined as the three key components of livelihood security: job security, household expenses, and social networks. As a first step, policy documents from different organizations were reviewed (ILO, Greater London Authority Plan, Newham Council, Carpenters Estate Tenant Management Organization, among others). The group also analysed literature reviews from social scientists, economists and politicians such as Amartya Sen (1993) and Caroline Moser (2008) related to livelihoods and well-being. Finally, this information was compared to primary data obtained through semi-structured interviews with residents of Carpenters Estate, including freeholders, leaseholders, and tenants. Through these interviews, we attempted to assess the impact that the regeneration plan and UCL bid has had on their livelihood strategies, and how they would be affected if displaced. Residents' perception of realities on the ground were subsequently compared with discourses underpinning the regeneration plan.
In order to process such data, Amartya Sen's capability approach was used, as it states the importance of both agency and empowerment. This approach focuses on what people are capable of "being" and "doing" by giving people the agency to live the life they believe is valuable (Robeyns 2003). We applied this framework while considering the opportunities, abilities and options that residents have in order to achieve their desired livelihood strategy (Frediani 2010).

Throughout this chapter we demonstrate how the perception of the regeneration plan by residents of Carpenters Estate does not correlate with Newham and UCL discourses. We also discuss how the UCL bid did not incorporate into its cost-analysis the cost of maintaining similar livelihoods for Carpenters Estate residents. From these findings, we conclude that regeneration and the UCL bid have had a negative overall impact on the livelihoods of residents of Carpenters Estate, and that the process has not promoted well-being.

3.2. Discourse vs. reality: discrepancies in narratives

A regeneration project of the magnitude undertaken by Newham Council requires various types of research evidence prior to it starting. In the case of Carpenters Estate, the sustainability appraisal carried out during the planning process does not seem to support the reality on the ground of the current situation. In our research over the course of several months, a prevalent trend is found in the discrepancy between the narratives of Newham Council, UCL and residents of Stratford. For example, the Mayor of Newham, Sir Robin Andrew Wales, is quoted assuring residents that they would receive the utmost attention from the council:

> *".. However, I appreciate that this will cause you disruption and will mean that you have to move your home. We will work closely with you to offer you choices and opportunities that are suitable to your personal circumstances." - Sir Robin Andrew Wales (Carpenters Resident's Charter)*

Even so, the above claim has been not honoured as almost all residents interviewed said they received very little help or support from the council:

> *"Nobody has approached us with any help. We have no information regarding what is happening especially about moving out. We wake up to suddenly see our neighbours gone. They are slowly and steadily kicking everybody out without sharing any information or providing any assistance." (Resident of Carpenters Estate)*

This disjuncture has been evidenced throughout the three areas we have investigated: job security, household expenses, and social networks.

3.3. Job security

The reality at Carpenters Estate is a stark contrast to what literature and policy documents define or state as a good example of secure livelihoods or well-being. For example, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) states: "development happens through jobs … employment is necessary to enhance livelihoods" (ILO 2012). Newham Council echoed this line of thinking when it initially promised that the regeneration projects would create more than 62,000 jobs by 2023. It promised that Newham residents would "benefit from these opportunities" (LBN 2009).

In spite of these claims, we discovered that most people in the area are struggling to procure a job. Even more problematically, several respondents indicated that due to the regeneration changes they had lost their jobs, or are currently in danger of losing them due to competition and relocation. High transportation costs once decanted or otherwise removed from their homes were commonly mentioned as a concern during interviews. These decanted residents were no longer able to benefit from their previous proximity to the Stratford tube station, which had previously facilitated job opportunities. The statements below highlights the lack of opportunities the residents face:

> *"There are no new jobs, they just want to bring in new people. For us there are no jobs, they're all for working class people." (Resident of Carpenters Estate)*
> *"I don't know people in this neighbourhood who have jobs here." (Resident of Carpenters Estate)*

3.4. Costs of living

While the council claims to find the residents alternate options that meet their requirements, the reality is that the authorities have not done enough to ensure secure livelihoods. In fact, they have made the situation more difficult for residents, while enforcing regulations to make housing in the Borough out of residents' reach. This impression that the council has failed to help residents is echoed by almost every resident the group interviewed. Overall, Newham Council's offers for "compensation" are not fully adequate and do not protect residents from the threat of poverty or from severely reducing their income. For example, one employed resident raised concerns over rising living expenses, especially once relocated. He currently earns around 2,200 pounds per month, with half of his earnings devoted to living expenses. Once he is moved farther away, he will have to add higher transportation costs to his living expenses, in addition to a higher rent. Options are limited for him if he is to move out of Carpenters Estate, with moving into a house-share with his family as one of them. Further, the ambiguity of Newham Council's promise means that residents are unsure whether their houses will be assessed according to recession prices, or as a property with a door facing the Olympic Park.

3.5. Social networks

The regeneration plans have also had a negative impact on 'coping strategies.' Coping strategies' aims are to "cope with and recover from stress and shock … [and] maintain or enhance capability" (Chambers and Conway 1992). This comes in many forms, such as caring for other community members or working informally. A published report has identified informal working in Newham as a response to poverty, indicating that such work can function as a form of mutual support within families and communities (Katungi et al. 2006). One example from the Carpenters research is a resident who provided beauty services to her neighbours when she struggled to find a formal job. If this resident were to move out of the neighbourhood, she would lose out on this coping strategy. Another resident took on the role of caretaker for an elderly lady, checking up on her on a daily basis and even cooking her meals and cleaning her flat. The research thus highlighted various coping strategies that would be threatened if the existing residents are removed from the area.

3.6. A cost-analysis conundrum

Having found a discordance between the discourses of UCL/Newham Council, and the reality as experienced by Carpenters Estate residents, we have also identified a key finding that illustrates the ways in which the proposed regeneration plan understands livelihoods. This is most clearly evidenced in what UCL claims are its motivations for selecting Carpenters Estate as a desirable site. Malcolm Grant, during his introduction to UCL's

Stratford web page (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/stratford), states the following:

> *"UCL needs land on which to expand, and it has two criteria: to be in London, readily accessible to the Bloomsbury campus; and to be of London, making a major contribution to the well-being of the area in which it is based."*

However, the evidence presented above appears to contradict this statement as related to the three different and crucial components of livelihoods and well-being. It is thus worth considering how UCL envisions the livelihoods narrative.

On November 23rd of 2011, UCL announced to its staff and internal stakeholders its interest in Carpenters Estate through a bulletin titled: "UCL to explore plans for additional campus in London Borough of Newham". In that bulletin, UCL states four main reasons why Carpenters Estate is an ideal location. Of the most interest to this research is the second reason, claiming that Carpenters Estate is rife with opportunities for the university associated with the "... Olympic legacy, scale, value and affordability, and, importantly, accessibility [...]" (referring to Stratford Station). From this, it is clear that one crucial reason UCL targeted Carpenters Estate over other areas was due to its affordability. This affordability is shaped by many elements—including value of the land, accessibility, and of the costs Newham Council would incur to decant current residents and provide adequate compensation. In this regard, and according to the Residents Charter, two major costs are to be set. The first associated cost is related to rehousing. To this, the Residents Charter states:

> *"The council is in any case committed to the general principle that no tenant should be worse off as a result of the rehousing process. This is an important commitment in respect of paying compensation for the reasonable costs of being rehoused. The council will discuss with each tenant needing to be decanted their individual, reasonable costs of removal at the time of being rehoused and agree a schedule of costs with each household."*

The second and more significant cost is the acquisition of land and houses that belong to the residents (leaseholders and freeholders). In reference to home loss payment, here the charter adds:

> *"in addition to the market value, resident leaseholders and freeholders will be entitled to a further 10% up to maximum of 47,000 of the selling price value of their property to be sold."*

UCL bases its cost-analysis on these premises. However, interviews with residents have demonstrated a number of issues with this. Firstly, many have expressed concerns about the ability of UCL as a developer to reflect those promises expressed within the Residents Charter. A clear concern is that the compensation for residents' homes will be based upon their pre-Olympic value, rather than their current worth. Secondly, a clearly articulated concern was that the living costs of residents would increase significantly if they were to maintain a similar lifestyle somewhere else. This being the case, there is confusion as to whether the offered compensation will include these costs. According to the Charter, no one is to be "worse off" due to relocation, which implies that extra costs would be absorbed by the council and UCL. Importantly, UCL have committed to ensuring the proper application of the Charter, stating:

> *"UCL will be working closely with Newham Council to ensure that they are able to fulfil the commitments and undertaking made in the Residents Charter negotiated by the JRSG and agreed with Newham Council in April 2012."*

Going back to the introduction letter by Malcolm Grant, he recognizes the uncertainty that UCL has regarding aspects of the process by stating:

> *"This website sets out our initial proposition. It is based on broad assumptions that will be refined as the project progresses. But it conveys clearly the profound scale of our ambition for Stratford and for the wider Newham community."*

One of those broad assumptions that must be refined is the cost of redeveloping Carpenters Estate, as we demonstrated in this paper. Critically, there is a clear tension in the fact that supporting the 'well-being' of residents during the regeneration process is defined solely in terms of affordability. This leaves behind other issues of high priority for residents explored here, including proximity to transport, and the strong social and economic bonds established amongst residents. This oversight creates clear barriers to the generation of sustainable communities and livelihoods Newham Council espouses, highlighting the valuable network that is lost within the regeneration narrative.

3.7. Conclusion

The research has examined the impact of regeneration on Carpenters Estate in relation to livelihoods and well-being. Over the course of three months, interviews and literature and policy reviews have indicated that regeneration plans initiated by Newham Council have had (and in all likelihood will continue to have) a negative impact on the livelihoods of Carpenters Estate residents. The issues of displacement, the closure of local businesses, and the loss of support networks has limited residents of Carpenters Estate to achieve their full potential.

As explored here, our research in Carpenters Estate produced two key findings. The first was that **Newham Council's policies and promises did not correlate to the perception of interviewees,** and that Newham Council has not adequately upheld its commitment to its constituency. Along with a discounted vision of citizenship rights, Newham Council continues to advocate for the regeneration of Stratford in exchange for the well-being of its residents. It is evident that creating a legacy has become a top priority, and although Newham Council promotes this as benefiting the area as a whole, it has become clear from resident interviews that this is not what is experienced. This raises many questions: how does this tension fit within an elected democracy? How will this seemingly unlimited power affect people living in areas targeted for regeneration in the future? Why are there limited legal procedures in place to protect citizen and ownership rights?

The second key finding produced is that **UCL, within its cost-analysis, has addressed only a limited understanding of livelihoods security.** This assessment has not adequately incorporated those multi-faceted dimensions, including job security, costs of living, and social networks. Importantly, this has impacts both on UCL and on the residents of Carpenters Estate. For residents, compensation offers a way to re-build a life somewhere else, especially for those who had spent a considerable amount of time on the estate. In some cases, it serves as a form of social protection (UNRISD, 2010). Not only has Newham Council not adequately addressed the material conditions that are likely to be (and for some have already been) affected by the regeneration plan, but it has also failed to take into account the many intangible dimensions that feed into a sense of livelihoods security. This is of particular importance given that the community in Carpenters Estate has demonstrated many strategies to support their livelihoods, including taking on informal jobs within the community—such as cutting hair and babysitting—and relying on a network of acquaintances for support. These coping strategies serve as a way to protect against poverty; regeneration threatens that by destroying community networks and threatening the informal sector. For UCL, which remains committed in rhetoric to supporting 'well-being', these actions within Carpenters Estate demonstrate a clear transgression of their own values.

Thus, Newham Council has failed to match its policies with tangible, concrete action. This is despite their claim that regeneration would benefit Carpenters Estate as part of the Olympic Legacy during the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics bidding process. Additionally, UCL, with its foundation as a university opposed to intolerance and inequality, and a promoter of well-being, is going against its own values in order to support Newham's regeneration plans for commercial gains.

Carpenters Estate may be described as a close-knit community within the busy city of London, a rare occurrence that residents believe is a gift. The proposed regeneration plan has threatened job security, raised costs of living, and damaged community networks, 'placing obstacles in residents' paths to achieving greater levels of well-being.

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4. Meaningful Participation

How does regeneration in the context of Carpenters Estate affect the abilities and opportunities of residents to participate in the shaping of their neighbourhood?

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4.1. Introduction

Participatory approaches are often seen to be an inherent good, bringing together planners and the community and creating development that is more responsive to local needs. However participation is not always positive – "participation as tyranny" (Cooke and Kothari 2001) can also be used to legitimize pre-set agendas, fragment communities and exclude weaker voices. It is also often assumed that participatory approaches automatically empower the local community, but participation can also be disempowering and a well-planned process that deliberately builds local capacity and shares power is needed if empowerment is to take place. Furthermore fairness, equality and transparency are also a key to allowing meaningful participation to succeed. Egger and Mayeres (1998) identify seven key principles they regard as integral to fair and meaningful participation: inclusion, equal partnership, transparency, sharing power and responsibility, empowerment and cooperation.

The motto of the Masterplan is "Making Newham a place where people live, work and stay". Increasingly the active participation of citizens in decisions affecting their communities is being recognised as key to creating a healthy democracy and socially just environments. This is reflected in the concerns of Newham's Sustainable Community Strategy to promote citizen engagement, which allegedly underpins the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan's approach. The NSC Strategy's action plan focuses on ensuring that residents feel involved with the decision making processes in the boroughs, through the use of participatory principles including "work with Councillors, community engagement events, and more effective and consistent communication" (LBN 2010).

Another important document in regards to regeneration and community came into effect in November 2011. The focus of the Localism Act (2011) aims to shift power from central government back to individuals, communities and local councils. The Act empowers the Greater London Authority (GLA) and boroughs across London to work together strategically to support physical and economic regeneration, and aims in this way to enable local people to play a greater role in determining the shape and future of their neighbourhoods.

The Localism Act is framed in participatory language, using terms such as: 'Neighbourhood Plans' and 'The Community Right to Build', to emphasise its aim to increase the involvement of local people in planning their areas. Although the rhetoric and intention of the legislation is clear, critics question the ability of local authorities in London to effectively devolve planning power to local communities because of their limited capacity and complexity and overlapping nature of governance and planning authority in the city (Future of London 2013).

In the case of London and especially Newham in the wake of the Olympics, citizens face significant obstacles to achieving fair participation in regeneration planning since demands for economic development must be balanced with sustainable social development of neighbourhoods. Although London-wide and Newham planning policy supposedly addresses this tension, in many cases financial considerations have still been utilized to marginalize the opinions of residents (Imrie et al. 2009). Contradictory to what most of the legislation regarding regeneration plans in Newham and in London say about following a participatory, community-led approach to planning there are many discrepancies in how these policies have been carried out in practice.

"Ensuring full and meaningful public consultation is necessary to meet the Newham Community Strategy aspiration to build an active and inclusive community." Consultation Report: Stratford Metropolitan Master Plan (LBN 2011).
"Public participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation of area-based regeneration activities is fundamental to ensuring that projects are carried out with the full support of the local people. Participation is not only about gathering evidence and opinions but is an educative, discursive and inclusive process to create an active relationship and dialogue between the public, power holders and among other actors" (Mangesha 2009:26).

4.2. Meaningful participation

Our evidence showed that resident aspirations to "meaningful participation" include 5 main components, which are analysed against LBN planning policy statements below: (See also Figure 4.1 for examples)

Influence in decision making. One of the most important qualities of meaningful participation valued by residents is the ability to significantly influence decision-making. Residents strongly aspire to be in control of the situations that affect their lives. These aspirations are less strongly reflected in LBN policy, however the Council's Statement of Community Involvement clearly states that participation will significantly shape development of plans, while Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan Consultation Report specifies that simply inviting comments from the community on plans is not sufficient. A major theme of our research is that residents do not feel that this aspiration has been met, and do not consider that either the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan or UCL's plans reflect their opinions.

Right to participate. Residents consider that participating in the planning process should be a right but that planners have not respected this right. Residents' awareness of their right to participate has grown during the regeneration process, and is now something they are very conscious of. The statutory obligation of the Council to provide opportunities for community participation throughout the planning process is acknowledged in LBN's Statement of Community Involvement.

Openness & honesty. Residents demand honest and open dialogue with planners, and this was felt to be a key failing of both LBN and UCL's consultation processes despite the importance of transparency in planning processes being emphasised in both central Government planning policy (ODPM 2004) and LBN's Statement of Community Involvement.

Inclusion of all identities. Residents expressed concern that the participatory process had not allowed the inclusion of diverse social identities. In particular, they highlighted concerns over the inclusion of the elderly, less vocal residents and those who spoke English as a second language. Their aspirations converge with the principle of inclusion stated in all policy documents examined.

Valued and respected as partners. Residents desire to work together as valued and respected partners with developers and do not feel that either Newham Council or UCL has treated them in the right way. They point to alleged manipulation of the community during the regeneration process, highlight disrespect in language used by both the Council and Mayor towards residents, and express the feeling of being treated as a dispensable community. Significantly planning policy documents make no explicit reference to this important component of participation.

Figure 4.1. Meaningful participation: A comparision of resident views and LBN planning policy. Source: Authors

Influence in decision making	
"There were times where a petition was put in so it would seem like things are getting somewhere but as soon as it comes to the cutting edge it's like – 'Oh, I have already decided to do this, and because it is so close to the time you can't really have your say anyway'..." (Young resident)	Communities should "participate in developing proposals and options. It is not sufficient to invite them to simply comment once these have been worked up." (LBN Consultation Report SMMP).
Right to participate	
"They basically refused to accept that we existed… We have a right to speak and we shall continue to do so." (Female resident)	"Local communities should be given the opportunity to participate fully in the process for drawing up specific plans or policies and to be consulted on proposals for development." (LBN Statement of Community Involvement)
Openness & Honesty	
"There is nothing that destabilizes people more than not knowing. It is better to have an informed choice so you can make up your mind, you weigh the two sides and you are able to decide what to do and what not to do…" (Female resident)	"The planning process should be clear and transparent." (Central Government and LBN)
Inclusion of all identities	
"People were forced out of their homes mostly because they were not clued up on their rights and a lot of these people were from other countries they were pressured to take what they were offered and ended up getting a bum deal instead of waiting" (Young resident)	"5.2 It is recognized that Newham has a wide range of communities (…) and the Council aspires to involve all of these communities together with those who live, work or seek entertainment in the borough, in the process of determining how to safeguard, change and improve the borough" (SMM Consultation Report)
Valued & respected as partners	
"They should show more respect. Community is made from individuals, it is not a company. They are abusing their powers." (Young resident) "It was as if we did not exist, that somehow we were just an expendable community who could just be removed at will" (TMO Member)	No explicit reference in policy documents.

4.3. Choices to participate

Carpenters Estate residents have used both formal spaces and alternative spaces to attempt to influence regeneration plans.

Formal Spaces Controlled By Authorities. The first type of formal space includes those organised and primarily controlled by the London Borough of Newham (LBN) or University College London (UCL) such as LBN consultation activities, meetings with Council representatives and the Mayoral Surgery. Residents are generally negative about their experiences in this type of formal space, complaining that the scope of their participation is limited, that they are not listened to and that they are treated with a lack of respect, or even sometimes excluded. Residents have attempted to use these spaces to protest against the nature of formal consultation— for example, through organising a mass 'no' vote to all offered planning options in July and November 2010 consultations on the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan. Minutes from Joint Residents Steering Group (JRSG) meetings also show that during critical periods (such as the summer 2010 consultation for the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan) resident groups were not clear on the formal participatory opportunities open to them.

Formal Spaces Controlled By Residents. A second type of formal participatory space are those controlled by residents (or nominally controlled – since some residents dispute their independence) which are also officially recognised by the LBN and UCL, such as the JRSG and the Tenant's Management Organisation (TMO). The JRSG is the official vehicle for dialogue, information-dissemination and consultation with residents, and the TMO is a vehicle for managing the estate, although it has previously played a consultation role. Residents often complain that these spaces have insufficient power delegated to them to influence decision making however, and both resident groups and the Independent Housing Consultant complained that the LBN often failed to send sufficiently senior representatives to answer questions. These groups are increasingly being used to voice and organise resistance to planning agendas, and resident participation in these spaces is now much higher than non-resident controlled spaces; for example over 100 residents attended a public meeting at the TMO Hall on 24th September 2012 to call on UCL to withdraw from the estate (Inside Housing 2012).

Alternative Spaces. There are also alternative spaces of participation that are loosely organised or do not enjoy official recognition. Since Carpenters Against Regeneration Plan (CARP) is not recognised as a consultation partner by LBN or UCL, and is considered by residents to employ more radical strategies, we categorise CARP activities as an alternative space of participation. CARP is perceived by some to represent the interests of freeholders rather than tenants or leaseholders, and it is felt by some CARP members that LBN has intentionally painted the group as radical 'loonies' in order to discredit their protests. Other types of alternative space include petitions, individual communications (such as letters) to LBN and UCL, and independent research as a means of accessing information not delivered through formal channels. Residents have also used the media including a recent Inside Out BBC documentary to raise awareness of their situation.

4.4. Abilities to participate

The following section describes the abilities of residents to participate in the shaping of their neighbourhoods and analyses how these have been affected by the regeneration plan.

Community cohesion (Collective bargaining power). Key informants from London Citizens and TPAS, as well as representatives of resident organisations, stressed that the unity of residents around collective goals was key to increasing collective bargaining power and the effectiveness of their participation.

As a result of the broadened scope of the regeneration plans to include low-rise freeholders and tenants, as well as high-rise tenants and leaseholders, new tensions between tenure groups have been created. Residents' concerns are divided between collective interests – the preservation of the community and estate as a whole – and defending the specific interests of their tenure group. This is reflected in recent hostility between resident groups which is also linked to the inclusion/exclusion of certain tenure groups from participatory spaces. Many interviewees recognise that non-cooperation between the various resident groups has weakened their collective bargaining power.

Emotional Resilience. Many residents feel that the emotional costs of participating in the regeneration process over many years led to themselves or others disengag-

> *"Because you really have to dig [for information] I am not surprised with people fighting because fear brings the worst out of a person. That's why you find people there fighting because it's like fighting for their livelihood and fighting for their homes" (Female Resident).*
>
> *"Living one's life as a campaign is very wearing and, you know, far from everybody can do it... I may have thrown in the towel but others haven't, thank heavens" (Decanted Resident).*
>
> *"The idea was just to blind people with science, hoping that they wouldn't understand" (JRSG Member).*

ing from participation, or submitting to Council pressure to move off the estate when they would have preferred to stay. Emotional costs included anxiety and uncertainty, fear of being penalised in terms of housing options for resisting the Council's regeneration agenda, and exhaustion when one's voice was felt to repeatedly not be heard. Moreover, most of residents expressed the thought that Council representatives had deliberately manipulated people's fears and vulnerabilities to persuade them to decant, mentioning door-to-door visits where people were told they would be 'living in a ghost town' if they did not agree to move, and leaseholders being subject to debt collection measures for minimal financial arrears. The elderly or recent immigrants, with less emotional resilience or confidence, were felt to be particularly vulnerable to such pressure.

Competency of representatives. Residents feel that key members of the community have sufficient skills to represent them to the Council/UCL. Ordinary residents however often seemed to find it difficult to engage with the complexity of the planning process particularly in the context of constant changes in the Council's plans for the Estate, and appeared to rely on key community members with backgrounds in housing/regeneration. This is not to say that they are ignorant or incapable – simply that no residents made any mention of having received capacity building training from the Council to support their ability to engage with the process. Infighting between resident groups has divided the abilities of the community, and some of the more informed members of the community allied with CARP are regularly excluded from formal LBN participatory spaces.

4.5. Opportunities to participate

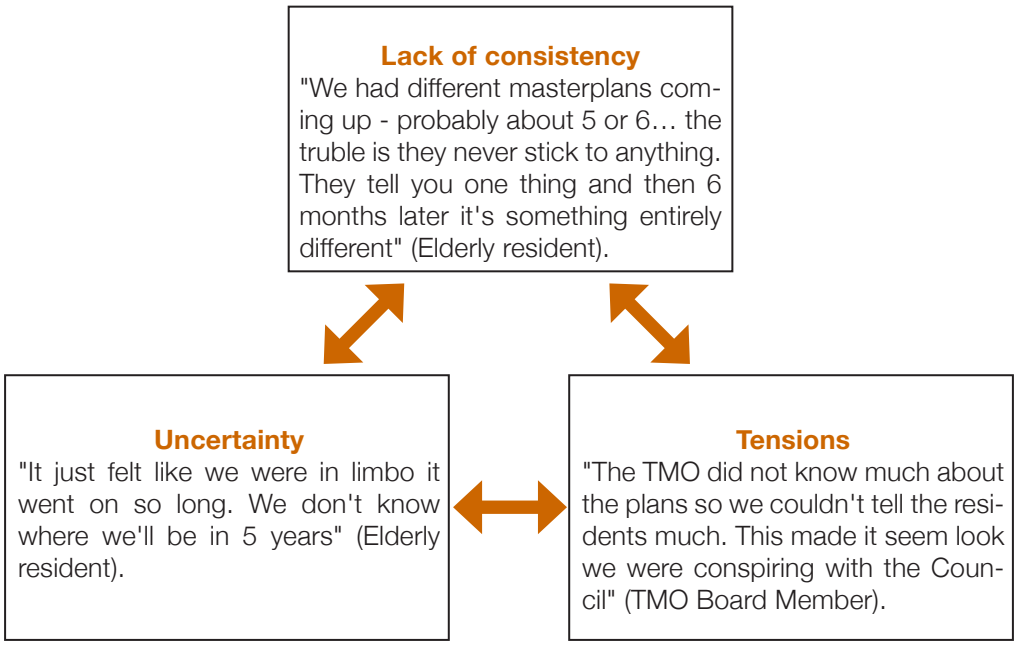
The opportunities for residents to participate in the regeneration process were examined using a combination of resident interviews and reviews of relevant policy documents. During the course of our research, we came across the following findings.

Access to information is believed by residents to be essential in creating opportunities for participation in the regeneration process. It is strongly felt that there is a lack of access to information provided by the council and UCL which prevents residents both past and present from being fully involved in the process. Despite involvement in community groups, the information given is not felt to be sufficient and is felt to limit how much residents know about the process. This has meant that some residents have had to investigate independently:

> *"You really have to dig [for information]... It was only when I went to personally speak to the architect at UCL that I even found out they wanted to use the whole of the estate. I was the one who came back with that information and told others."*

Uncertainty. The constant change to plans and the delays and lack of consistency in information given has caused uncertainty amongst residents and prevented resident groups from organising their participation (and resistance) effectively. It has also created tensions in a previously peaceful estate. The relationship between these elements is demonstrated in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2. The relationship between poor quality information, uncertainty and community tensions on Carpenters Estate. Source: Authors



Commitment of planners to protect the rights of residents and to ensure that they are aware of their entitlements is a key concern. This commitment is found to be compromised due to the absence of transparency and open and honest dialogue and failure to include and inform those with little knowledge of the regeneration process. This has resulted in some decanted residents feeling short-changed as they were not given the opportunity to learn about what they were entitled to. Residents consider that more confident residents with experience in fields linked to planning have been able to find out about their entitlements and challenge the Council, whilst those with little experience were more likely to take what the council offered without asking any questions.

Yet LBN's Statement of Community Involvement clearly states:

> *"Special provision will be made for making consultation inclusive of: People with little prior knowledge of the planning system." (LBN 2006)*

Translation of Participation into Valued Outcomes. There is a large difference between Newham's policy commitments and what was done in practice. For example, according to the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan Sustainability Appraisal:

> *"Through the process of developing the masterplan, a variety of different options for the Carpenters Estate have been developed and appraised in an iterative process leading to a preferred option".*

However evidence from both secondary data and interviews shows options offered for appraisal for the Stratford Metropolitan Masterplan by residents were prepared without resident involvement, and did not reflect their needs or preferences. However their rejection of those options was ignored by LBN. Despite residents consistently expressing their priorities in consultation as: remaining on the estate; keeping the community together; retaining the low rise housing; a family focused residential neighbourhood; and low rise affordable housing, the current mixed use plans for UCL Stratford bear no resemblance to these priorities. Consequently residents feel that the consultation process has not allowed them to be in control of any decisions.

Triangulation with an Open University (2009) study conducted on the Estate in 2009 reinforces our findings that residents have struggled to secure meaningful influence on plans from their participation throughout the regeneration process.

> *"People were scared off by the Council who told them that if they didn't leave they would be left on a derelict estate. They were not aware of their rights but of course they listened to the Council as they are easier to be believed than us" (TMO Board Member).*
>
> *"Residents have no say at all, people from the outside look at Stratford and see this amazing new developing area, while the residents are like "a little voice in the background saying 'what about me?' (Elderly Resident).*
>
> *"Sometimes you feel that the council box you into a corner, and that seems to be the only answer to the situation you're in. That I find very challenging" (Male resident, Open University 2009).*

4.6. Major findings

The London Borough of Newham's 20-year Sustainable Community Strategy sets out a clear vision of an active civil society, characterised by residents who participate in local decision-making, "confident of their ability to influence decisions locally" and in which diverse neighbourhoods enjoy strong "tenure-blind" bonds of friendship and reciprocity (LBN 2010).

In many ways Carpenters has epitomised this kind of active and connected community. Residents are active in volunteering, take pride in their neighbourhood, organise community social events (during the time of research: A Christmas Concert, Youth Paintballing trip, Eid Party, Older People's Christmas party). Key informants and residents consider the friendliness and safety of the estate as unique in both Newham and London.

The evidence in this report however suggests that the way in which regeneration has been pursued has undermined both active citizenship and community cohesion on the Carpenter's Estate.

Regeneration and the Fragmentation of a Cohesive Community. Residents on Carpenters Estate have been subject to ten years of uncertainty as masterplans have been repeatedly commissioned, formulated and scrapped. While residents initially united in defence of their valued community, as the agenda of the regeneration has broadened to include freeholders, leaseholders, and the low-rise tenants, our research shows that tensions have emerged between tenure groups.

Without a replacement housing solution on offer to collectively re-house residents, residents' interests in regeneration have been divided along tenure lines, and residents have fragmented into largely tenure-based representative groups. Suspicion and hostility between these groups was clearly observable during the period of our research and also commented on in interviews. Interviewees linked this fragmentation to: exclusion of particular tenure

groups from aspects of consultation, tenure interests not fairly represented in negotiations and failure of participation by representative groups to deliver valued outcomes either through formal participatory routes and alternative campaigning strategies.

However, the weaknesses of resident groups are clearly underpinned by the failure and unwillingness of Newham Council (and latterly UCL) to provide access to adequate information or to delegate power or decision-making to residents in any real way – a connection that some residents were also able to make in interviews.

Far from creating 'tenure-blind' connected communities, regeneration is undermining the social fabric of one of Newham's most cohesive neighbourhoods (Figure 4.3).

Regeneration and the Creation of a Democratic Deficit. The practice of community engagement in the regeneration process thus far has not allowed for the exercise of real agency by residents and this is keenly perceived by residents themselves. Rather than allowing residents to share in decision-making, invited participation has been limited to the tokenistic generation of ideas and comments from residents on pre-determined options and the provision of (frequently delayed, poor quality) information. Local participation that resists the agenda of planners has been "un-evidenced", delegitimized as impractical or irrational, ignored and more strident voices of resistance have been actively excluded from LBN/UCL-controlled participatory spaces.

Our research suggests that by failing to meet residents' aspirations to meaningful and fair participation, regeneration is leading to the creation of a democratic deficit on the Carpenters Estate that seriously undermines Newham's aspiration to create sustainable communities of active citizens in its borough. In interviews residents display low levels of trust in local government, hostility to elected representatives, suspicion of official information and an increasing disinclination to engage in either formal political processes or community self-help that are linked explicitly to poor experiences of participation in the planning process (see Table 4.1 and Figures 4.4).

Figure 4.3. Regeneration and the production of community conflict. Source: Authors

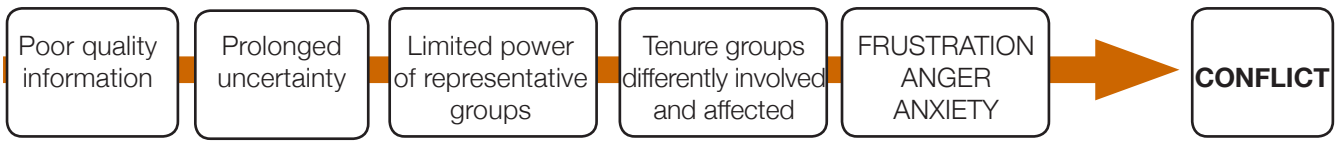
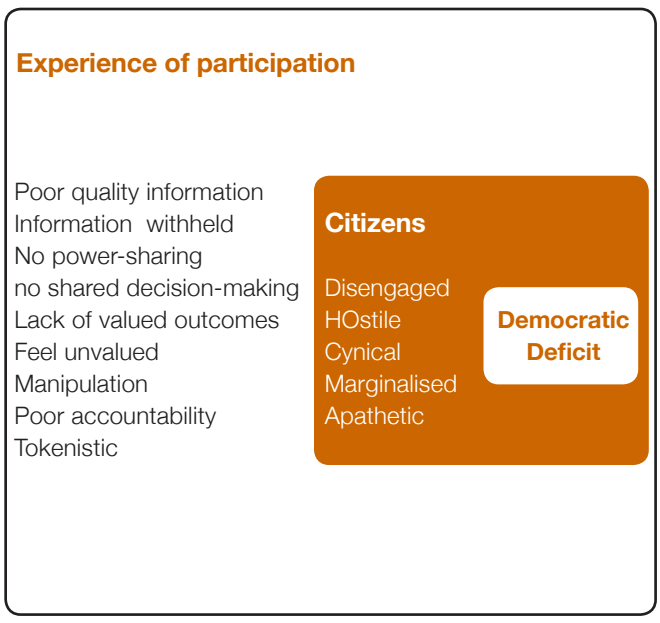


Table 4.1. The democratic deficit: Citizen responses. Source: Authors

Disengagement	"It kind of puts you in two minds with whether to say anything and do anything for your community because it's like it's going to be helpless so why would you?" Young Resident
Hostility	"I think it would take a massive rally with a cause, like a rally that is actually destructive, I mean disruptive - wrong word yeah - to the point where they have to listen." Young Resident
Cynicism	"We don't believe UCL for a moment. It's pure spin." JRSG member
Marginalisation	"Residents are just a little voice in the background saying – but 'what about me'??" Male Resident
Apathy	"We know no more than we did six years ago, so - to me - they will do what they want. Whoever the group of 'they' will be, they will decide." Elderly Resident.

Figure 4.4. Participation and the production of a democratic deficit. Source: Authors.



"Regeneration opportunities will expand housing supply and choice, but this must never be at the expense of a cohesive community... Fairness and transparency are essential to community cohesion" Newham Sustainable Community Strategy (LBN 2010).

"We want Newham to be an area where participation, local knowledge and working together shapes our neighbourhoods. To achieve this we want local people to be active in their community, have access to community centres and facilities and to feel like they have a say in decisions that affect them" Newham Sustainable Community Strategy (LBN 2010).

"Effective community engagement is key to achieving our vision of making Newham a place where people choose to live, work and stay" (Newham Sustainable Community Strategy 2010).

"It's a living estate and it needs to keep on living, but it needs to keep on living in tune with the people that are there" (Male Resident).

4.7. Conclusion

Our evidence shows that up to this point, **regeneration has not allowed the meaningful participation of residents of Carpenters Estate in the shaping of their neighbourhoods, either in terms of the residents' own aspirations or the policy commitments of the London Borough of Newham.**

LBN and UCL's technocratic and expert-driven planning practices risk turning a previously cohesive harmonious and active estate into yet another set of atomised, passive, alienated and marginalized individuals. **If future community engagement by UCL, LBN or others follows the same pattern, the likely outcome is further reinforcement of the current democratic deficit, and further fragmentation of the community.** To avoid the destruction of a "living estate", UCL should withdraw its bid, and LBN/LLDC should support a community-led planning solution involving the real delegation of power to residents.

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5. Conclusion

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The stories, histories, and evidence presented above demonstrate a clear divide between the stated aims of Newham Council and UCL, and the impacts of the regeneration process on residents of Carpenters Estate. On the one hand, Newham Council remains rhetorically committed to creating a borough in which people 'live, work, and stay', while UCL espouses 'Grand Challenges' related to supporting human well-being and sustainable cities. On the other hand, the regeneration process itself—characterised by misinformation, prolonged uncertainty, and the limited power of community groups—has had a detrimental effect on the well-being of residents of the Estate. Unfortunately this kind of finding is not restricted to the regeneration process in this particular part of East London, but is instead one that has emerged in research undertaken on many regeneration schemes throughout the country (see inter alia Imrie and Raco 2003; Perron and Skiers 2003; Dinham 2007; Gosling 2008; Wallace 2010). Through semi-structured interviews and discussions, the research reported here has explored these impacts along three interrelated axes: access to dignified housing, secure livelihoods, and meaningful participation.

If we understand 'housing' as more than its composite bricks and mortar, as Chapter 2 argues, it is evident that Newham's plan to upgrade the borough via an "Arc of Opportunity" does not accord with residents' opinions and aspirations for their estate, and nor does it nurture current or future sustainability. While the Council has offered decanted residents 'like for like' housing of the quality currently available on the majority of the estate, this is likely to be outside the budgets of most residents. Moreover, this is to say nothing of the memories, relationships, and emotions that residents have cultivated in relation to their homes, most (if not all) of which will ultimately be lost through regeneration.

Similarly, the student group that focused on understanding secure livelihoods in Chapter 3 found that Newham Council's policies and promises have not correlated with the experiences of residents. While UCL has undertaken a 'cost-analysis' aimed at understanding the impact on residents, this has addressed only a limited understanding of livelihoods security, and has not adequately incorporated the more multi-faceted dimensions highlighted in Chapter 3, including job security, costs of living, and strategies built from social networks. In sum, not only have the material conditions likely to be affected by the regeneration plans not been adequately addressed, but the Council has also failed to account for the many intangible dimensions that feed into a sense of livelihoods security.

Finally, the analysis of the consultation process as it has been undertaken thus far, outlined in Chapter 4, indicates that the regeneration process has not facilitated the meaningful participation of Carpenters Estate residents in the shaping of their neighbourhoods— either in terms of their own aspirations, or the policy commitments of Newham Council. This technocratic and expert-driven planning practice risks turning a previously cohesive, harmonious, and active estate into yet another set of atomized, passive, alienated, and marginalized individuals. If future community engagement by UCL, Newham, and others follows the same pattern, the likely outcome is further reinforcement of the current democratic deficit, and fragmentation of the community.

The regeneration of Carpenters Estate falls within the wider discourse of creating an 'Olympic Legacy', which is focused on generating long-term and sustainable benefits of the Games for East London citizens (MacRury and Poynter 2009). However, as illustrated in this report, there remain enduring questions regarding the intended and actual beneficiaries of this process, whether it is taking place in an inclusive and equitable fashion, and how citizens can exercise democratic control over decision-making that affects their lives and urban space. Carpenters Estate represents a uniquely cohesive and close-knit neighborhood within an increasingly individualized city, and far from recognizing and supporting the resilience of this community, the regeneration process has thus far detracted from the well-being of its residents on multiple levels. Newham Borough and planning authorities would benefit from re-conceptualizing neighborhoods such as Carpenter's Estate, recognizing its value as a 'living estate', and recommitting to it as the type of community that London authorities and the Legacy process should strive to attain.

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SDP Students Report - DPU

The Development Planning Unit, University College London, is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning, management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning, management and design, especially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition.

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